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Delitzsch is inclined to read $la = \text{לָ}$ in the Letter, 83-1-18, 6 (H. 421), obv. 11, and in obv. 14 he is inclined to make the la a phonetic complement to $am\acute{e}lu$. I prefer Johnston's treatment of this Letter in *JAOS.*, No. 20, pp. 251, 252, where he discusses $p\acute{a}gu$, *to take away*, and gives a résumé of the contents. Delitzsch makes $pig\acute{u} = \text{פִּיגֻ} (?)$, *bitten um etwas*, oder *zurückfordern(?)*. The following transliteration of this Letter may be added to Johnston's résumé: ^{obv. 1} $a-na \text{ } \acute{s}arri \text{ } b\acute{e}liia \text{ } ^2ardi-ka \text{ } Marduk-\acute{s}um-u\acute{c}ur \text{ } ^3lu-u \text{ } \acute{s}ul-mu \text{ } a-na \text{ } \acute{s}arri \text{ } b\acute{e}liia \text{ } ^4Nab\acute{u} \text{ } Marduk \text{ } ^5a-na \text{ } \acute{s}arri \text{ } b\acute{e}liia \text{ } lik-ru-bu. \text{ } ^6Abi-\acute{s}u \text{ } \acute{s}a \text{ } \acute{s}arri \text{ } b\acute{e}liia \text{ } ^7X \text{ } IM\acute{E}R \text{ } \acute{S}E-KULina \text{ } ^{mat} \text{ } \acute{H}a-la\acute{h}-\acute{h}i \text{ } ^8it-ta-na. \text{ } XIV \text{ } \acute{s}an\acute{a}ti \text{ } ^9e\acute{k}li \text{ } a-ta-kal. \text{ } ^{10}Me-me-ni \text{ } is-si-ia \text{ } la \text{ } id-di-bu-ub. \text{ } ^{12}U-ma-a \text{ } am\acute{e}l \text{ } pa\acute{h}\acute{a}tu \text{ } ^{13}la \text{ } ^{mat} \text{ } Ma\acute{s}-\acute{h}al-zi \text{ } it-tal-ka. \text{ } ^{14}Am\acute{e}lu \text{ } la \text{ } i\acute{h}-te-si \text{ } ^{15}b\acute{i}t-su \text{ } im-ta-\acute{s}a- \text{ } ^{16}e\acute{k}li \text{ } ip-tu-ak. \text{ } ^{17}\acute{S}arru \text{ } be-ili \text{ } u-da \text{ } ^{18}ki-i \text{ } mus-ki-nu \text{ } ^{19}a-na-ku-u-ni \text{ } ^{20}ma-\acute{c}ar-tu \text{ } ^{rev. 1} \text{ } \acute{s}a \text{ } \acute{s}arri \text{ } b\acute{e}liia \text{ } ^2a-na-\acute{c}ar-u-ni \text{ } ^3lib-bi \text{ } \acute{e}kalli \text{ } ^4la \text{ } a-\acute{s}i-\acute{t}u-u-ni. \text{ } ^5U-ma-a \text{ } e\acute{k}lu \text{ } pi-ga-ku. \text{ } ^6\acute{S}arra \text{ } at-ta-\acute{h}ar. \text{ } ^7\acute{S}arru \text{ } be-ili \text{ } ^8di-e-ni \text{ } li-pu-u\acute{s} \text{ } ^9ina \text{ } bu-bu-ti \text{ } l\acute{u} \text{ } la \text{ } a-mu-at.$

I am inclined to think that we should read $l\acute{i}di\acute{s}$ instead of $lidi\acute{s}$; cf. K. 5291 (H. 317), obv. 19 to rev. 1, and my note in *AJSL.*, Vol. XV, No. 3, pp. 143, 144.

In Cyl. B. of Esarhaddon, col. i, l. 2, Delitzsch reads $ni-pi-sa$. I read so in 1885, but I think the sa is very doubtful. In the same text, l. 15, he has accepted my reading $si-si-in-ni$, which was supported by Haupt in *BAS.*, I, 167, †. In l. 9 he still reads ga instead of gir , although Haupt made a special examination of the text with Pinches and confirmed my reading.

For $pa\acute{s}\acute{s}\acute{u}ru$, *Schüssel*, *Schale*, I prefer Haupt's treatment, *BAS.*, I, 161, where he translates *Tisch* and compares the Aramaic פִּתְרָא. Again, Berry's reading $magarru$ rather than $ma\acute{s}\acute{a}ru$, *Rad*, seems preferable; cf. *AJSL.*, Vol. XVI, No. 1, pp. 50, 51.

One notes many new readings even in historical texts, and it is safe to say that most of them will meet with favor. In many places Delitzsch has changed his readings since the appearance of his *Handwörterbuch*. From the standpoint of text and lexicon this edition is much superior to the others.

Part I will be welcomed by both instructors and students, and it will be the hope of all that Delitzsch may be spared to complete his *Keilschrift-Chrestomathie*.

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THE LETTERS AND INSCRIPTIONS OF HAMMURABI.¹

These volumes constitute one of the most notable contributions recently made to Assyriological science. From every point of view they

¹ THE LETTERS AND INSCRIPTIONS OF HAMMURABI. Edited by L. W. King, M.A., F.S.A. (Luzac's Semitic Text and Translation Series.) In three volumes. Vols. I and II, Texts. Vol. III, English Translations, etc. London: Luzac & Co., 1898-1900. lxviii and xviii pp., 244 plates; pp. lxxi, 335.

reveal the work of a scholar who is thoroughly capable in the realm of copying texts, who spares no pains to reach the whole truth, and whose statements on matters of controversy and uncertainty are cautious and sane. Mr. King has not, indeed, evolved a multitude of theories which are intuitions of genius; but he has likewise heralded no startling discoveries which are likely to turn out to be mare's nests.

The documents published in these volumes are as follows: fifty-five letters from Hammurabi to Sin-idinnam; ten inscriptions of Hammurabi; three others referring to him; six letters of Samsu-iluna; thirteen letters of Abēšu; two letters of Ammiditana; five letters of Ammizaduga; two letters of non-royal personages; three royal inscriptions of Samsu-iluna, Ammiditana, and Ammizaduga, respectively; the chronicle of the kings of the First Dynasty, and the inscription of Marduk-sapik-zerim. The texts are lithographed from copies beautifully clear and fine. Vols. I and II contain the texts; Vol. III, the transliterations, translations, and notes textual, grammatical, and historical. Vocabularies and indices fill eighty pages of the last volume. Introductions of fifty-six and seventy-one pages, respectively, are given in the first and third volumes. It would be difficult to find a work more complete in all that scientific fulness demands. The typography and all connected therewith are equally satisfactory.

Turning from form and contents to the contributions made in these volumes to our knowledge of the period of the First Dynasty of Babylon, we find an abundance of new information of the highest value, which will necessitate the enlargement, if not the rewriting, of the chapters devoted to the times of Hammurabi in our standard histories of Babylonia and Assyria. That great ruler is seen, not as a conquering king as some modern writers have regarded him almost exclusively, but as a great organizer. The letters which he writes to his subordinate in Larsam have little to say about wars and armies. They show him to be an administrator, and throw light on how he laid so well the foundations of the empire which for more than a millennium centered about the city of Babylon.

He had his hand upon all branches of the government. The least as well as the greatest governmental affairs were his concern. He was solicitous both for the proper administration of justice and for the needful supply of grain for the capital; for the rectification of the calendar and for the employment of the public slaves; for the revenues of the temples equally with those of the state treasury; for the care of the cattle upon the crown lands, and for the kind of wood supplied from the royal forests. It was already known from his inscriptions that he was interested in the opening of the public canals and in the rebuilding of the temples. These letters and the other new documents—particularly the chronicle—add many new illustrations of his activity in these directions.

The letters of his successors show how they followed in his footsteps. Everything points to a highly centralized administration and illustrates the great power which was wielded by these kings in all spheres of

public life. At the same time, as King remarks, the documents suggest that the conditions of life are still primitive and pastoral pursuits predominate. Very strikingly is this shown in the five letters of Ammizaduga which consist of summonses to the sheep-shearing at Babylon. It is curious that so little is said about commerce and industry in these royal dispatches. Yet we have evidence in the large number of business documents of the time elsewhere published (by Meissner and others) that the Babylonian activity in these lines was very great. The fact emphasizes the necessity of caution in generalizing from any one collection of materials as to the prevailing tendencies of any period of ancient life.

The possibility of this centralized administration is to be ascribed in large measure to the oversight exercised by the king through his liberal use of dispatches and the antecedent organization of a post system. King notes that letter-writing in the real sense now begins. Traces of a kind of communication between Babylonian cities are found in the time of Sargon of Agadi. But in the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon it is reduced to a system—a fact which accounts also for the appearance of private correspondence in this period.

The foreign relations which these letters disclose are not many or complex. The earliest allusion to Assyria yet found occurs in a letter of Hammurabi in a way which suggests that the land formed a part of the king's dominions. The Elamite war is suggested in a couple of interesting dispatches about which some lively discussion has arisen. In one of these documents Father Scheil thought he had discovered the name of Chedorlaomer. It turns out, however, as King quietly and convincingly shows, that Father Scheil misread the cuneiform signs, and that in reality no such name is found there. The letters relate to the capture of some images of Elamite goddesses which Hammurabi orders to be brought to Babylon, and later, as is probable, to be returned to Elam and restored to their shrines. Another interesting historical fact is the appearance of the Kassites in the reign of Samsu-iluna long before their chiefs came to the Babylonian throne. Whether this early appearance was only a sporadic raid or the beginning of their advance into the land remains to be seen.

Like all such documents these letters and inscriptions leave many interesting historical problems of the age still unsolved. How the First Dynasty came to the throne, whether at the head of a body of invading Arabs—as King seems inclined to accept, following Pognon—or as legitimate heirs of preceding rulers—on this no light is given. The chronology, too, is thrown into some confusion by the new chronicle, in which the regnal years do not agree with the kings' lists. King is inclined to place the date of Hammurabi about 2200 B. C., though he acknowledges that dates for the First Dynasty can be given only very approximately.

A number of other interesting and valuable facts might be drawn from these documents illustrative of the life and history of the times.

Equally important contributions are made by Mr. King to the linguistic side of Assyriology in the discussion of words and phrases like the long note on the months (Vol. III, note 3). But we must close, as we began, with hearty commendation and grateful appreciation of the admirable service rendered by the author alike to the historian and philologist, both of whom will carry away from these volumes abundant spoil, while the student who is not a specialist will find in the attractive discussions and the excellent translations of the third volume much instructive information upon a memorable era in the history of the ancient world.

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BABYLONIAN AND ASSYRIAN LIFE.¹

This is the best book Professor Sayce has yet written, and displays a caution and a care for facts that are very refreshing. It has a distinct value for the student as giving in an English dress what might take up much time to find in German publications. The work will serve to familiarize a reader of Assyrian or Babylonian contracts with the problems which will meet him in his attempts to understand them. It gives in a clear and lucid form the results which have hitherto been reached. The popular reader or "man in the railway carriage" will miss "the purple patches" of "lower criticism;" but sober thinkers will find much to please them.

The contract "literature," letters, and even some religious texts are laid under contribution for facts, suggestions, and illustrations. For the most part the renderings of the original texts used as authorities seem to seize the essential points of the sentence and give it the desired complexion. Considerable dissent would be expressed by those who have made a special study of the subject, except, of course, where the author simply follows Oppert, Peiser, or Pinches; where these pioneers have failed the author has rarely improved matters. Probably it is outside the plan of the series to give references to quotations, but the reviewer has found it difficult to track some of the texts to their source. The hope raised by the footnote on p. 1, giving the authority for the statement that ninety feet are annually added to the coast line of the Persian Gulf, is crushed by the almost total absence of others. On p. 2 a curious piece of arithmetic meets us: the rate of deposit being taken as 100 feet per annum, a deposit of 130 miles is held to carry back a date to B. C. 6500, instead of about B. C. 4900. The earlier date requires only eighty feet a year.

In many cases very stale theories are retained on slender grounds. That Sennacherib made a very handsome present to Esarhaddon, apparently on taking rank as crown prince and receiving a change of name in honor of the occasion, is no ground for assuming any favoritism.

¹ BABYLONIANS AND ASSYRIANS. *Life and Customs.* By Rev. A. H. Sayce, Professor of Assyriology at Oxford. London: J. C. Nimmo; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899. x + 286 pp. (= "The Semitic Series," edited by J. A. Craig; Vol. VI.)